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Affectional Identification and Delinquency

BY
HERBERT JOHN ZUCKER, PH.D.

ARCHIVES OF PSYCHOLOGY
R. S. WOODWORTH, EDITOR

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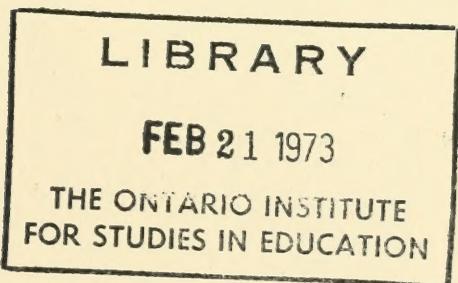
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CHAPTER I

VIEWPOINTS ON DELINQUENCY

During the past twenty-five years there have been many different theories concerning the etiology of delinquency. Two main lines of thought are readily discernible. One of these may be said to be predominantly sociological in nature, the other largely psychological. Studies exist in which either the sociological or psychological approach to the problem is primarily emphasized to the practical exclusion of the other. In certain quarters these distinct strands have converged until they have become interwoven. Accentuation of one of these standpoints over the other has had some very real effects.

The sociological orientation leads to the conclusion that the roots of delinquency are to be found in the social structure, particularly in the nature and quality of the local community. Specifically, delinquency is attributed to such factors as poverty, poor housing, slum areas, inadequate recreation facilities, etc. Bonger (5), for example, feels that our economic system is at bottom responsible for delinquency. Low incomes affect the intellectual condition of the working class, he contends, and consequently the moral plane of this group is lower than that of other classes. Along this same line, he points out that bad housing does injury to the "moral sense" and weakens "social feelings."

A notable contribution to the problem of delinquency has been made by Shaw and McKay (32). They have demonstrated that in several large American cities the rate of delinquency is highest in areas characterized by physical deterioration, declining population, and disintegration of neighborhood culture and organization. Poor housing and congestion are only reflections of these conditions. Standards weaken and delinquency either flourishes uncontrolled or is openly countenanced. As a result, the community ceases to function effectively as a unit of control. Juvenile delinquency then is taken to be the manifestation of social disorganization, or the inability of the community to handle the problem. As the authors suggest, it follows from such a position that the solution for juvenile delinquency lies in the physical rehabilitation of slum areas, improvement of social and economic conditions, as well as in the formation of a cohesive community. Treatment thus is phrased in terms of groups and communities, rather than in terms of the indi-

vidual. As Burgess (33) puts it in the introduction to Shaw's book: "We must think of causes in terms of the community and less in terms of the individual." Thinking in these terms involves housing projects, traffic considerations, business and industrial locations, parks and recreational facilities.

In the same direction, Stagner (35) says that children growing up in delinquency areas have their situations labelled differently from those in more fortunate surroundings. Situations are labelled "good," "bad," "right," "wrong," and thus the behavior of an individual in relation to these situations is determined. "Crime and all character are matters of correct labelling and definition of situations. Treatment is not a matter of punishment, but rather a matter of re-educating them to socially approved definitions." By implication, therefore, Stagner seems to be in full agreement with Shaw's thesis, inasmuch as he believes that if only we remodel the child's environment, we will then obtain a more acceptable labelling of situations.

There is a segment of the delinquent population which can be understood in terms of the theories propounded by Shaw and Bonner. There are children who absorb the standards of a home and community which are delinquent in nature and consequently, such children become delinquent themselves. Though Shaw's work is stimulating and suggestive, there are aspects of the problem of delinquency which cannot be comprehended within the framework of his concepts. For one thing, this viewpoint does not explain why it is that a sizable number of children in a delinquency area do not become delinquent. Much less does it explain why in the same family one boy may become delinquent and not his brother. Furthermore, it does not account for the appearance of delinquency in homes of a relatively comfortable economic level, situated in attractive neighborhoods. There have been several researches which indicate that a goodly number of delinquents come from homes of average socio-economic status. Grimberg (12), for one, found that most of the delinquent girls in his study came from comfortable homes and respectable families.

It might be mentioned that we have no valid way of appraising the incidence of delinquency in favored communities. Cases occurring in such areas rarely come to the attention of the authorities, since adjustments are promptly made by the parents. The contrast found between the rates of delinquency in advantageous and disadvantageous communities might not be quite as sharp if we had

reliable statistics on its incidence in better residential areas. In any event, we can be quite sure that delinquency occurs more frequently in neighborhoods of low socio-economic status. The argument here is not at all directed against this fact; rather it questions the implicit assignation of the nature of the community as the main causal factor in delinquency.

Having found a substantial association between delinquency and a particular social condition, Shaw and McKay reasonably imputed causal influence to one of the covariant factors. Yet while two phenomena may vary together, one need not necessarily be the cause of the other. As Dewey (9) pointed out, science advances insofar as it refines the picture of causation from gross common-sense conceptions to minute, closely interconnected sequences. Thus an individual asked why a particular piece of wood turned into ashes, would in all likelihood reply that this had occurred because fire had been applied to it. Science, on the other hand, improves this observation by introducing concepts like oxidation, conservation of matter, etc., which terms themselves cover many continuous changes. In the same vein, delinquency may be broadly related to disorganized communities, but interpolated between these gross relationships are elements which may be found to be also intimately and logically associated with delinquency. The correlation reported by Shaw and McKay between delinquency and certain types of communities helps to explain a good deal about delinquency. In many cases the neighborhood is one of the deciding factors in the development of delinquency. But perhaps a more complete picture of delinquency will be obtained if Shaw and McKay's work is considered in conjunction with other phases of the problem such as the family.

Commonly delinquency is taken to be behavior which in some way has brought the individual into conflict with established authority, but in a sense it may have as many different meanings as there are individuals who indulge in it. Consequently, it is difficult to understand the individual behavior of these children in terms of broad social factors. Probably, it would be useless to attempt to understand or treat a boy whose delinquency represents an adjustment to a physical inferiority in terms of economic circumstances. From engaging in such activity this puny lad derives a feeling of masculinity and power, which perhaps he can obtain in no other fashion. The futility of endeavoring to alter his conduct by transporting him into a good residential area is obvious. Of course, this is only a single instance and does not prove very much one way or

the other. It is only given to indicate that before we can understand delinquency, we must understand what meaning this behavior has to the individual. Poor housing, presence of industrial plants, inadequate recreational facilities, low economic level—all objective aspects of the child's environment play a part. But their psychological role in the production of delinquency will not be ascertained if we do not gain insight into the child's view of them and how his interpretation of them affects his personality. Paradoxically enough, the objective physical aspects of the delinquent's environment may not, with reference to etiology, be quite as real as the unique significance he gives to them.

This discussion should not be construed to be an argument against the bettering of economic conditions, clearance of slum areas, and so forth. On the contrary, the writer is wholly in favor of such programs. For even better reasons than the abatement of delinquency, such projects are to be supported to the utmost. But our particular concern here is with the subject of delinquency and how it is allied to these social situations. That they do play an important role is undeniable, but we should try to determine carefully the extent and importance of this role.

With the advent of mental testing psychologists began to consider delinquency in terms of intelligence. It must be said that their earlier incursions into this field were far from fruitful. Intelligence tests were applied and followed by the announcement that delinquents as a class are mental defectives. Goddard (11) is one of the men who helped to establish this belief. He stated that "the greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low-grade mentality." The possibility that these tests were measuring educational background and not intelligence was not considered. Sampling errors as well as cultural differences were ignored in the main. Fortunately, studies soon appeared which avoided the methodological pitfalls described above, and the belief that inferior intelligence was the most important cause of delinquency was soon discarded. But these investigations revealed as well that intelligence is not a negligible factor. After surveying a great many studies Chassell (8) came to the conclusion that there is a low but positive correlation between delinquency and intelligence among delinquent groups. Nevertheless, she cautioned that certain "extraneous and selective" forces tended to raise the amount of correlation found. Some of the factors which she listed are: the likelihood that the more intelligent delinquent will avoid detection; noticeable or partial subjec-

tivity of data; kinds of subjects; unrepresentative sampling; etc. Finally she concluded that the correlation between delinquency and intelligence is somewhat lower than the results indicate, but that the relationship exists. One finding of Healy and Bronner's (14) study is especially interesting in this connection. They found that within the same family delinquents had practically the same abilities as their non-delinquent siblings. In terms of causality the two groups could not be distinguished on the basis of intelligence, although both groups seemed to be somewhat below average. Reckless and Smith (28) noted that delinquency was no more associated with low intelligence than any other type of conduct problem.

Heredity was another concept invoked to account for the phenomenon of delinquency. An illustration of this view is a statement by Burr (7), who wrote that "the criminal as the psychiatrist defines the word is born, not made." Grimberg (13) appeared to have been another exponent of this teaching. The majority of delinquents, he asserted, are characterized by a constitutional inferiority. This latter condition, which he seems to believe is synonymous with organic inferiority, arises from an hereditary endocrine imbalance.

On the basis of theoretical grounds, as well as experimental evidence, these convictions are open to criticism. Our knowledge of the processes of heredity is so meager that as yet we have no positive confirmation that such a complex personality characteristic can be transmitted through the genes. The symptomatology of delinquency is so variable, its nature is so definitely related to the environment in which it is bred, that it is unreasonable to credit the germ plasm with its determination. In addition, the criteria by means of which an individual is adjudged to have been delinquent are man-made. During the prohibition era we were practically a nation of delinquents, but no one alleged that this country in general was marked by defective heredity.

Moreover, adherence to this belief presents a rather pessimistic outlook for prevention and treatment. Prevention could only be achieved by widespread sterilization and the prospect of treatment would be ever dubious since the closer a quality is linked to inheritance the less is it subject to modification. Heredity has been resorted to as an explanatory concept with respect to many questions, often where least has been known. Support for these contentions is found in Spaulding and Healy's (33) study of one thousand cases of young repeated offenders. No conclusive evidence of hereditary

criminalistic traits was found. Again in "New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment," Healy and Bronner (15) reaffirm that heredity does not appear to be significant in the etiology of delinquency.

Delinquency was also attributed to physical structure, endocrine disturbances, health conditions, and instinctive propensities. Body build has not yet been successfully shown to be consistently correlated with delinquency, as Sutherland (37) carefully demonstrates. Concerning endocrinological disorders, controversies are still continuing as to whether the malfunctioning of the endocrines is a result or a cause of various types of personality difficulties. The fact that endocrine disturbances may be found in some delinquents does not necessarily mean that they have produced the delinquency. The symptom may very well be ascribed to some emotional need on the part of the delinquent, while the imbalance may very credibly be a consequence of improper nutrition. Endocrinological correlates of stealing, running away, or truancy have not been even vaguely established. Our knowledge in this field is so scanty that it would be scientifically unsound to formulate any conclusive opinions as to the relationship of the endocrines and delinquency. Pertaining to this point, Healy and Bronner (16) found no marked difference between the physical condition of delinquents and non-delinquents. Reckless and Smith (29) maintain that the differences found by investigators are "too small and variable to present a clue to delinquency." Finally, psychology has risen above the explanation of human behavior on the basis of instinct. A lad was held to be delinquent because he had an instinctive tendency to be so. In this circular fashion, description and explanation were confused. Now psychology prefers to analyze the component parts of the activity it formerly referred to as instinctive, thereby gaining more insight into its genesis.

The treatment of delinquency generally has not been adequate as is evident from the results that have been achieved. Reports of outcomes of treatment vary. Knox (23) in a study of one hundred three boys ten years after admission to the Whittier School found that 58.2% made a good adjustment, 3.8% improved, and 38% failed. On the other hand, Glueck and Glueck (10) in a study of one thousand juvenile delinquents found that after a five-year period only 12% were free from delinquency. While these results are divergent, in any case we may be sure that a considerable number of delinquents were not being helped. In the words of Healy

and Bronner (17) "the usual handling of misconduct by the courts has been extremely disappointing in results." The need, therefore, for a more effective attack on the problem of delinquency is obvious. Perhaps this can best come after a better understanding of what is involved in delinquency.

The first indications of a more satisfactory consideration of delinquency are to be found in the writings of the psychoanalysts. Psychoanalysis provided such concepts as identification, compensation, super-ego formation, etc., which could be applied to the understanding of behavior problems, delinquency among them, with profit. Alexander and Staub (21) disclosed that there were three principal categories in which criminals could be classified. One of these was the neurotic criminal, whose behavior was the result of psychological conflicts, the second was the normal criminal who identified with a criminal model, and finally there was the pathological criminal whose behavior was organically determined. Another prominent analyst, Aichhorn (22), believed that delinquency was as often a result of poor training as a neurotic trend. Following Freud, Aichhorn emphasized the importance of super-ego formation on the basis of identification with one's parents. Delinquents, he believed, had inadequate ego-ideals because of the character of their family relationships. Appropriate treatment was often in the direction of providing a father substitute to alter the child's faulty ego-ideal. The one drawback of this viewpoint is that it underestimates somewhat the importance of social factors. Perhaps the clearest statement of this position is to be found in Healy and Bronner (18) who similarly conclude that delinquents possess defective ego-ideals because of the lack of a strong emotional attachment to an individual who is an acceptable social prototype.

Each one of the theories described in this chapter in some way increases our understanding of delinquency. But if one is an eclectic one's task is not to absorb indiscriminately, but rather to evaluate critically and to assign diverse contributions to their rightful place in the scheme of determining conditions. Like community conditions, the structure of family relationships may be found to be related to the etiology of delinquency. It is hoped that the following experiment may in some measure help to establish the importance of the latter thesis.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The hypothesis of this experiment is that the affectional identification of most delinquent children with their parents is either deficient or lacking and that this condition is dynamically related to the extent to which these children do not introject the standards, morals, and values of their parents on an effective emotional level. It is our feeling that this may be one of the important factors in the etiology of delinquency. This proposition can be stated even more universally. It might be said that the absorption of parental ideals by children, in general, is intimately linked to the degree to which they identify with their parents in an affectional manner.

Apparently then, it will be necessary to establish that there is a lesser degree of affectional relationship between delinquent children and their parents than between non-delinquent children and their parents. Furthermore, it will have to be shown that delinquents identify less frequently with their parents than so-called "normal" children. And finally, we will have to prove that these factors have an observable effect upon their behavior.

Before we can proceed it is essential that we dispose of one additional question. By implication this investigation assumes that delinquents do know the difference between "right" and "wrong." This is in direct opposition to the view that delinquents are "moral imbeciles." This is a crucial question, for if delinquents are not cognizant of acceptable modes of behavior, how can we expect them to conduct themselves correctly? If this were true, it would be unnecessary to search for emotional determinants of delinquency, since the answer to this problem could plainly be placed on an intellectual level. The need, as a matter of fact, for this study would be obviated.

In a former study (41), an attempt was made to ascertain whether the ego-ideals of delinquent children differed significantly in content from those of normal children. Delinquents were asked to write compositions on what they wanted to be, the sort of friend they would like, and the kind of men they admire. The general run of their replies was no different from that we would expect from the average child in our culture. The results of the present investigation lend additional support to these findings.

It will be recalled that Stagner holds that delinquents have the situations they meet incorrectly labelled, and therefore their be-

havior with reference to these situations is inappropriate and delinquent. If delinquents do know the correct definition of a situation, however, then we must seek the answer to the problem in the more fundamental emotional levels of personality, rather than in its cognitive levels.

Though there may be some difference between the ethical judgment of delinquents and non-delinquents, independent researches bear out the belief that most delinquents do know what constitutes acceptable behavior. Bishop (4) compared a group of delinquents and non-delinquents with respect to "good" and "bad" social habits. The attitudes of the two groups towards this scale of social practices could not be significantly distinguished. Utilizing the Personal Attitude Test for Young Boys, Reusser (30) found no appreciable difference between delinquent and non-delinquent boys in the tendency to be critical of themselves. One of the findings of Healy and Bronner's (19) extensive investigation was that the great majority of delinquents clearly knew the difference between right and wrong. Even where a deficient sense of ethics was apparent, no effort was made on the part of the delinquent to rationalize his behavior. Shaw (31) quotes a case in which the delinquent admits that shoplifting exercised a great attraction for him, but also reveals that he was acutely aware of the asocial nature of his activity, since he suffered from strong guilt feelings. It seems to be fair to conclude, then, that delinquency cannot be entirely explained on the basis of the delinquent's lack of knowledge of established rules and practices.

CHAPTER III

THE GROUPS STUDIED

Twenty-five white boys who at some time in the past had committed a delinquency, that is who had come into conflict with authority, constituted the experimental group or Group A as we will refer to it. These subjects were secured at Public School 37 in the Borough of Manhattan. It was hoped that it would have been possible to obtain a larger group, but only twenty-five delinquents were found, who could meet the limitations set up by the experimenter. Boys who cannot adjust in any of the other schools or who have become delinquent are sent to this school where they are given a great deal of individual attention and care. The mean age of these boys in Group A is 13-7, and their ages range from 11-2 to 15-6.

A control group could not be obtained at this school because there were no children in attendance who did not present some type of problem. Group B, or the non-delinquent group, then, was procured at Public School 40, also in Manhattan. The boys in Group B were twenty-five in number, white, and had a mean age of 13-8. The spread in ages in their case was not quite as large, ranging from 12-9 to 14-9. It should be mentioned, however, that there were only seven delinquents in Group A whose ages fell outside these extremes. On a group basis at least the ages of the boys seem to be fairly equivalent.

During the experimental work with Group A it was learned that most of the boys came from families of rather low socio-economic status. Consequently, when a control group was sought, a school was chosen whose student body is drawn from the lower income brackets. No difficulty was encountered in securing twenty-five non-delinquent, well-adjusted boys even though the school is located in one of the poor sections of the city. As an additional safeguard the occupations of the fathers of as many boys as possible were obtained, *i.e.*, fifteen of the delinquents and twenty-two of the non-delinquents. The occupations of the fathers were classified according to Sim's (38) five-fold "Score Card for Soci-Economic Status." The majority of the fathers in both groups fell into category 4 under which skilled laborers, the building trades, the transportation trades, personal service, and small shop owners were listed. The mean occupational levels of the delinquent's fathers was 4.26, while that of the non-delinquent's fathers was 4.04. The difference between

these means does not seem to be reliable inasmuch as the obtained t of 1.22 falls below the .05 level of significance. Groups A and B then, appear to be fairly similar as far as socio-economic status is concerned.

Lastly, an effort was made to equate roughly the two groups on the basis of intelligence. It was felt that a certain minimum ability was necessary before the materials of the experiment could be grasped. Arbitrarily, it was decided that no boy with an IQ below eighty would be included in the study. Only an approximate measure of the intelligence of the boys was desired, so that the test data in the possession of the schools were utilized. Some of the boys in Group A had been given individual Stanford-Binets, but the IQ's of others had been obtained by such group tests as the National Intelligence Test, the Pintner-Cunningham, and the Haggerty-Delta. Most of the non-delinquent IQ's had been obtained on the National Intelligence Test. The mean IQ of Group A was 92.9, with a range from 80 to 121; while that of Group B was 98.3, with a range from 82-120. The obtained t of 1.88 does not reach the .05 level of significance and therefore the difference between these means cannot be considered reliable. The difference between the means might be attributed to the use of different tests in each of the groups, as well as the fact that such examinations would tend to penalize the delinquents because of their absences from school and general lack of educational stimulation.

The subjects were selected, then, on the basis of color, age, socio-economic status, and intelligence. With these variables in mind, the boys were chosen by the principals of each school. The lists prepared by them were followed in order. In Group A's school, the principal was cautioned to pick only the more serious delinquents, while the principal of Group B's school was asked to choose only boys who had committed no known delinquency and who were, as far as could be judged, normal and well-adjusted.

CHAPTER IV

THE TECHNIQUES UTILIZED

There were four separate phases of the experimental procedure, the first of which employed a story-completion technique. Part of a story was read to each boy, prefaced by the request that he finish the story when the experimenter stopped reading. Frequent use of the personal pronoun "I" appeared to indicate that the boys were projecting their own attitudes and feelings into the completion and were identifying with the characters in the story. Evidence exists that children tend to project their own sentiments into ill-defined situations which leave room for individual interpretation. The work of Bender and Woltmann (31) with the puppet drama makes it clear that children translate the miniature life situations of the puppet show into their own terms. A child, for example, who is competing with a new-born sibling for parental affection will often urge Kaspar to throw the "baby" out of the window. Similarly, a child who harbors aggression toward his mother when presented with David Levy's (25) amputation dolls may violently dismember the mother-figure. Furthermore, clinical experience with children in play situations in which clay, dolls, or paints are used substantiates the claim that children are inclined to handle these materials in terms of their previous experience. Thus we may rest fairly secure that the boys in this experiment were figuratively associating themselves with the various individuals and situations to which they were supposed to respond.

Before the presentation of any of the experimental material, a few remarks were made to establish some degree of rapport. This was followed by a few simple questions from the Kent Oral Emergency Test to which most of the boys knew the answers. These questions were given to put them at ease, and also to prevent them from sensing that their personalities were actually the primary interest of the investigator. Each boy was then asked to listen carefully to the following instructions: "I have four stories here, but I am going to read only part of each one to you. You're supposed to finish them, put an ending on them. Do you understand?" A more detailed explanation was offered in any case where the original instructions were not thoroughly understood. The boys were permitted to respond verbally and notes were taken on their replies as they were expressed.

Story 1, which sought to determine the depth of the child's attachment to his parents, went as follows: "About two years ago, the newspapers announced that a wealthy man was going to hold a foot race, the prize of which would be a free trip around the world. The trip was to take about a year. The winner was to live in the best hotels, have rides on speedboats, see all the sights, and to top it all would be allowed to take along two friends of his own age. Billy entered the race with his heart beating wildly, ran as swiftly as he could and sure enough he won. After the race Billy realized that he had a problem on his hands. He knew that if he went he would have to go without his parents and be away from them for a year, and yet he did want to go, for he knew he would have the best of everything. Quietly he thought the matter over and . . ."

From the replies to Story 2 it was presumed that we obtained an indication of whether a boy was more susceptible to the biddings of his play group rather than to those of his parents, and therefore, was more under the sway of the former than the latter: "Some time ago in a small town out west a group of parents insisted that no boy should carry a pocket knife. The boys, however, said that they saw no reason why they shouldn't carry small penknives. At last, the parents and the boys got together to decide what was to be done. At this meeting the parents again said they didn't want the boys to have knives and the boys said they did want them. After a lot of talk the leader of the boys stood up and . . ."

Story 3 was designed to note the relative effectiveness of parental moralization: "Jimmy walked silently up the steps of his home with the officer right behind him. After they rang the bell, Jimmy's father answered and was astonished to see Jimmy with a policeman. The policeman said, 'Mr. Horn, I've caught your boy stealing. This is the last time I'll warn you. Next time I'll take him into court.' After the policeman left, Mr. Horn sat down with his son and talked with him for a long time. He showed him how wrong stealing is and what trouble it can bring. He said that no man ever gets away with that sort of stuff and asked Jim never to steal again. Jim answered that he wouldn't steal again. Two weeks later Jim and his friend were walking down the street . . ."

The intent of Story 4 was to tap the degree of a child's solicitude for his parents: "It was a bright, sunny day and Frankie was in his drawing class painting a small house. Just then a monitor walked in and Frankie was called to the principal's office. As he came in the principal said, 'We just got a call from your home

Frankie. Your parents have had some kind of accident there. You may leave for home at once if you want to.' But just as Frankie was leaving the telephone rang and the principal answered. Then he called out, 'Just a moment, Frankie. Your best friend was hit by an auto and needs some blood. They want you to get down to the hospital right away.' Then . . ."

The stories were succeeded by a paper and pencil test which had six sections. The test was administered individually, and often the experimenter enlarged upon the written instructions to clarify the questions for the children. Whenever a child had difficulty reading the material, the writer read it for him. The test will be described next.

I

Below is a list of things which might happen to any boy. What would your mother and father do about them and what would you do if you were a father? (A boy was expected to make only one choice in each column for each item.)

| | Father | Mother | Boy |
|--|--------|------------------------------------|-------|
| (1) If Eddy came home with bad marks | _____ | would yell at him | _____ |
| | _____ | would comfort him | _____ |
| | _____ | would beat him | _____ |
| | _____ | would talk to him about it | _____ |
| (2) When Eddy does a good job | _____ | doesn't bother him | _____ |
| | _____ | praises him | _____ |
| | _____ | ignores him | _____ |
| | _____ | rewards him | _____ |
| (3) When Eddy feels tired, sad and alone | _____ | pays no attention to him | _____ |
| | _____ | takes him around and talks to him | _____ |
| | _____ | takes him out for a good time | _____ |
| | _____ | tells him to get out of the way | _____ |
| (4) To make Eddy obey | _____ | tries to teach him what is right | _____ |
| | _____ | hit him on the head | _____ |
| | _____ | talk things over | _____ |
| | _____ | scold him | _____ |
| (5) Eddy's | _____ | takes him out a lot | _____ |
| | _____ | doesn't take him out | _____ |
| | _____ | takes him out sometimes | _____ |
| (6) When Eddy gets into trouble | _____ | stays away from him | _____ |
| | _____ | goes to help him | _____ |
| | _____ | says he's no good | _____ |
| | _____ | comes to scold him | _____ |
| | _____ | tells him they'll get him a lawyer | _____ |

This section may give us information on several important points. The reactions of the boys may indirectly reveal to us parental atti-

tudes as seen by the child. It may further enable us to detect the extent to which the boy identifies with his parents, for the likelihood is that if he identifies he will make mainly the same choices for himself as he does for his parents. Also, it may reveal from the frame of reference of the child whether the reactions of the parents are conducive to good relationships.

II

Here's a chance to find out in what ways you are like other fellows and in what ways you are different. Next to each sentence place a cross in that column into which you fit best.

| | that's like me | that's a little like me | that's not like me |
|---|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) All the boys like Jim. | | | |
| (2) Al usually does what he wants no matter what his folks say. | | | |
| (3) Lee gets along swell with his mother. | | | |
| (4) Johnny doesn't listen to his father. He feels he is old enough to do things his own way. | | | |
| (5) Teddy never plays hookey. | | | |
| (6) When Joey's folks yell at him or beat him up, he tries to get even by doing what they don't like. | | | |
| (7) Jack likes to be with his family. | | | |
| (8) Buddy is always fighting with his mother. | | | |
| (9) When Freddy wants something he usually just takes it. | | | |

Section II is in many respects similar to questions found in other personality tests. But in this test it has a special function. Not only is it designed to disclose what tendencies the boys recognize in their behavior, but also there are several crucial questions such as (2), (4), (6), and (9) which may be shown to be significantly related to the factors of identification and wholesome relationships dealt with in the first section.

III

Suppose you were going to live the rest of your life on a desert island, which two people would you want to take along most.

Clinicians have frequently put this query to children to secure a measure of the child's attachment to his parents.

This question was set up to disclose divergence or agreement between children and their parents in the choice of personality

IV

Sometimes fellows don't want to be just what their folks want them to be. Sometimes they do. Here's your chance to find out for yourself whether you do or you don't. Check what your folks want you to be and then what you want to be.

| Father wants me to be | Mother wants me to be | | I want to be |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | | polite | |
| | | a fighter | |
| | | truthful | |
| | | reckless | |
| | | generous | |
| | | "one of the boys" | |
| | | happy | |
| | | quiet | |
| | | "a Dead-End Kid" | |
| | | brave | |
| | | wild | |
| | | flashy | |
| | | lovable | |
| | | hot-headed | |
| | | a toughie | |
| | | friendly | |
| | | rough | |
| | | disobedient | |

attributes. Presumably, if a boy makes the same choices as his parents this may be taken to be a sign of identification. Also we will be permitted to observe whether he tends to identify more often with one parent than with the other. Moreover, we will be able to note whether the parents of Group A and B differ appreciably in the traits they prefer for their children. And lastly, the characteristics selected by the group themselves may be symptomatic of the extent and quality of their introjection.

V

Let us say that an Old Chinese magician gave you certain powers that would enable you to do anything you wanted. Check those things you would most want to do.

- (1) get a new girl friend
- (2) change your name
- (3) grow up and get away from home
- (4) go on a trip all alone with mother
- (5) not go to school
- (6) have father go away on business for a few months
- (7) become an aviator
- (8) get a different mother
- (9) get a new car
- (10) become a baby all over again
- (11) get along better with father
- (12) have more friends
- (13) have father love you more
- (14) go out with father more often

Obviously, the above represents an effort to elicit information from the child concerning wishes or desires which are relevant for the purposes of this experiment.

VI

A. Below is a list of people. Place a (1) before the one to whom it would be hardest for you to lie; a (2) before the one it would be next hardest to lie to and so on.

- principal
- friend
- teacher
- mother
- judge
- doctor
- father

B. Of all the people you know which two do you admire most?

1. _____
2. _____

Part A appears to denote the individual toward whom the child bears the greatest affect in connection with a particular moral situation. Answers to Part B designate individuals with whom the boy apparently identifies.

After the above examination was administered, each boy was asked to give his interpretation of nine of the Murray Apperception cards. These directions were given: "I'd like to see what your imagination is like, so that I'm going to show you some pictures. I'd like you to build up a little story about each picture—tell me what is happening, what they are thinking or feeling, what they are

dreaming or hoping for." The cards selected were numbers 1, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20 of the Murray series. All of the cards which dealt with family relationships (and these were too few) were included.

The final phase of the procedure was concerned with an endeavor to get a fairly objective picture of the home background of each boy through the medium of case histories. For Group A this was easily accomplished, since case records of every delinquent were on file at the school. As for Group B the principal and teachers in P.S. 40 naturally knew the families of their boys only superficially. Therefore it became necessary to visit the homes of each non-delinquent for this information. In seven cases no one was home at the time the investigator called, because the parents were working, shopping or visiting. It was possible, however, to appraise the home situations, as well as the attitudes of the parents of the remaining eighteen non-delinquents.

In every instance, no difficulty was encountered in entering these homes. The mother (occasionally the father) was present and was advised that her son had participated in a study carried out by the writer and that the latter would appreciate some additional information about the boy. Without exception they tried to be as helpful as they could. Generally, the mother was asked what sort of boy her son was around the house, what did he like to do, how did he get along with his siblings, how did he react to disciplining, or his parents, or authority? Similar questions were asked about the father. What kind of a man was he, what was his health like, did he ever go out with the boy, how did he feel about the boy, how much time did they spend together? As for their mutual adjustment, the mother was asked who made the major decisions in the family, how they were made, whether they disagreed on how the boy should be brought up, etc.? From the content as well as the underlying tone of the replies to these questions (that is, the manner in which these topics were referred to), it was usually possible to determine the nature of the mother's attitude toward the boy and also the quality of the family relationships which prevailed.

The above represented the last step in the experimental procedure.

CHAPTER V

THE RESULTS

The outcomes of the techniques will be presented in the order of their place in the procedure.

THE STORY COMPLETIONS

The reactions to Story 1 were dichotomous; either the boy decided to stay home with his parents or resolved to go on the attractive trip. Classifying in this manner, the following table was obtained.

TABLE I
RESPONSE TO STORY 1

| <i>Story 1</i> | <i>Stayed Home</i> | <i>Went on Trip</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Delinquents | 3 | 22 |
| Non-Delinquents | 18 | 7 |

It is immediately apparent that only a minority of the delinquents, three, chose to stay home rather than go on the trip. In sharp contrast, eighteen of the boys in Group B preferred to remain with their parents and forego the journey. To test for the statistical significance of these differences, the method for computing Chi-square from a four-fold table was employed. The work involved was considerably shortened by the use of a convenient formula.¹ The latter was used in every case where a four-fold table was best adapted to illustrate the data. With reference to Story 1 computation by this method yielded a Chi-square of 18.47. For one degree of freedom the observed Chi-square is significant above the .00005 level, so the hypothesis that delinquents and non-delinquents are alike in their responses to Story 1 is clearly rejected. We may be virtually certain that there are statistically significant differences between the two groups. It is inconceivable that such a difference might have been caused by the operation of chance factors.

The responses to this story appear to indicate the freedom with which a boy can sever his connections with his home for at least a considerable length of time. Particularly at the ages of the lads in this study, the ease or difficulty with which this is done would seem

¹ $\chi^2 = \frac{N(ad - bc)^2}{(a+b)(a+c)(b+d)(c+d)}$.

to be related to the intensity of their attachment to their parents. A few boys might be found who feel genuinely fond of their parents, but who are not in any way dependent upon them. Such a boy might very well go on an extended trip without it signifying lack of a proper relationship. But it is fair to believe that most boys of thirteen, especially with background of the children in this investigation, cannot ignore the power of their tie to their parents, unless of course one is lacking. Without hesitation, a delinquent such as Arthur C., would complete the story thus:² "He went. Guess he took his friends along. Might just as well." Put in this form it is as if the decision does not seem to matter one way or the other. John C., a member of Group B, responded in this manner: "wondering if he should leave them. Would probably miss them and love them. And he wouldn't like to leave them and wouldn't go." For many of the non-delinquents, the first and most important consideration in connection with this decision was their parents. The majority of the delinquents (sixty-eight percent), on the other hand, did not even mention their parents in their answers. Judging from the responses to this story then, delinquents seem to have less regard for the presence of their parents than non-delinquents.

TABLE II
RESPONSES TO STORY 2

| <i>Story 2</i> | <i>Kept Knives</i> | <i>Did Not Keep Knives</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Delinquents | 17 | 8 |
| Non-delinquents | 6 | 19 |

The boys finished this story either by retaining the knives or by discarding them in accordance with their parents' wishes. Table II shows that seventeen of the delinquents provided the leader with some sort of rationalization to enable them to keep the penknives. The majority of Group B, however, decided not to carry knives. Chi-square at the .002 level is equal to 9.61 and the observed Chi-square is equal to 9.74, so that we may be sure that the two groups are not homogeneous in their answers to Story 2. We may feel highly confident that there are real differences between them. One delinquent, Raymond M., said: "he gives them a reason why they should carry penknives. But mothers thought someone would get hurt. The boys should've went by the law, but they didn't."

² Illustrations have been selected to illustrate the trend, rather than just taken at random.

Joseph L., a non-delinquent, declared: "If I was them, I'd listen to my parents," while another member of his group, Victor B., felt: "well I guess if mother don't want us to carry knives we shouldn't." Apparently, to the non-delinquents parental injunctions are much more meaningful than they are to delinquents. In other words delinquents appear to be more susceptible to the demands of their play group. Whether this factor is related to affectional bonds will be noted later on.

The endings made to Story 3 were classified on the basis of whether Jim engaged in another stealing episode.

TABLE III
RESPONSES TO STORY 3

| <i>Story 3</i> | <i>Stole</i> | <i>Did not Steal</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Delinquents | 19 | 6 |
| Non-delinquents | 6 | 19 |

Nineteen of the boys in Group A (Table II), plainly ignoring the exhortation of the parent in this story, had "Jim" enter into another stealing incident. N. M., of this group gave a fairly typical response: "saw a fruit cart. Friend says let's go take an apple and Jim says the officer said I'll go to court so I can't. But friend said 'Don't believe that stuff.' So they stole and got caught and were put into court." Only twenty-four percent of Group B, *i.e.*, six boys, followed this course of action. Most of them completed the story as did Arthur E.: "saw a man with fruit. Friend didn't have any money and was hungry. But Jim said 'no, I wouldn't do it. I promised my father.' "

It cannot be maintained that delinquent and non-delinquent children tend to respond to Story 3 in the same way, since computation reveals the Chi-square to be 13.52. This is significant beyond the .0005 level. Thus we may be assured that there is a genuine difference in the performance of the two groups. Parental moralization, then, seems to be considerably less effective among delinquents than among non-delinquents.

With a ring of plausibility it might be alleged that the reactions of the delinquents with reference to the retention of pocket knives and stealing were only to be expected. Stealing, for example, certainly would not be inconsistent with their past practice, and therefore, their completion of Story 3 would more or less be determined

by their habits. Put in another way it would not be unusual for a person addicted to stealing to end Story 3 by describing another robbery. That this explanation does not suffice to explain the response will shortly be demonstrated.

TABLE IV
STEALING AND OTHER OFFENSES IN THE DELINQUENT GROUP (A)

| <i>Group A</i> | <i>Offenses Other Than Stealing</i> | <i>One or More Stealing Offenses</i> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| No. of Delinquents | 12 | 13 |
| No. Who Stole in Story 3 | 9 | 10 |

From Table IV we can see that practically half of the boys in Group A had been sent to P.S. 37 for offenses other than stealing, such as truancy, gambling, sexual difficulties, running away from home, etc. It would be unquestionably fallacious to call these boys habitual thieves, and yet nine of them undertook to have "Jim" steal in Story 3. Thus John C., who had been sent to P.S. 37 because of truancy, pernicious sex practices, and running away, finished Story 3 as follows: "seen a grocery store. Kind of hungry and went and stole some fruit." Of the thirteen boys with one or more stealing offenses, ten ended the story with a stealing affair. Thus, just as great a percentage of boys who were not inveterate thieves stole in Story 3 as did those who were repeated offenders.

Obviously the behavior of these boys cannot be successfully explained on the basis of past reaction patterns. From a psychological point of view, truancy, one stealing offense, or four stealing offenses are practically identical phenomena, providing the motivation behind these discrete actions is the same. Besides stealing is rarely the only symptom displayed. Other offenses are usually part of the picture, so that delinquency generally cannot be said to be a habit in one direction. On the face of it, it appears that these delinquents tend to repudiate on an emotional level almost any sort of ethical instruction made by their parents. The specific form which their delinquency assumes seems to be related to the nature of the community in which they live and the type and quality of the boys with whom they associate.

The boys completed Story 4 either by having Frankie go to his parents or to his friends. Note that twenty boys in Table V, Group B, preferred to go to their parents rather than their friends even

TABLE V
RESPONSES TO STORY 4

| <i>Story 4</i> | <i>Went to Parent</i> | <i>Went to Friend</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Delinquents | 8 | 17 |
| Non-delinquents | 20 | 5 |

though the nature of the friend's accident was definite, while that of their parents was obscure. Only eight delinquents chose their parents over their companion. Since the observed Chi-square of 11.69 is significant beyond the .001 level, we may assert that the differences between A and B are larger than might be expected.

In both groups there were boys who deliberated carefully before making a decision. Nelson P., of Group A, stated: "he didn't know what to do, go home or go to the hospital. Maybe parents ain't so sick. Friend needs blood. So he ran over to the hospital." Note how, even after reflection, the possible need of his parents is passed over. Compare this with the response of Nicholas G., a non-delinquent: ". . . stopped to think. Thought it over and went to mother and father who were in the accident." If it is conceded that one's regard for the welfare of an individual is often intimately related to the amount of affection felt toward this person, then it will be agreed that the delinquents seem to entertain less affection for their parents than non-delinquents.

TABLE VI
MEAN AGE AND INTELLIGENCE LEVELS AS RELATED TO RESPONSES GIVEN

| <i>50 Subj.</i> | <i>Story 1</i> | | <i>Story 2</i> | | <i>Story 3</i> | | <i>Story 4</i> | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>Stayed Home</i> | <i>Went on Trip</i> | <i>Kept Knives</i> | <i>Did Not Keep Knives</i> | <i>Stole</i> | <i>Did Not Steal</i> | <i>Went to Parent</i> | <i>Went to Friend</i> |
| Mean Age in mos. . . | 166.86 | 162.72 | 163.74 | 165.07 | 162.54 | 166.56 | 164.44 | 164.48 |
| Mean IQ . . . | 97.05 | 94.55 | 93.74 | 97.18 | 95.28 | 95.92 | 96.55 | 94.29 |

Table VI was constructed to make clear that neither age nor intelligence was affecting the responses of the boys to the stories. Inspection of the table shows the mean age and intelligence of boys

who completed the stories either one way or the other to be practically the same. The greatest age discrepancy is to be found between the boys reacting negatively or positively to Story 1, and this difference amounts to only 4.14 months. The means are not dependably different from each other since the obtained t of .29 falls far below the lowest level of significance. The largest difference between the means in the IQ category is to be found in Story 2. Here we have a variation of 3.34 points between the means. As with age, the difference between the means is not reliable inasmuch as t is equal to .25 which cannot be considered significant. In both categories, the remaining differences are all smaller than the ones that we have just tested for significance, so that these differences may be justifiably considered insignificant. Age and intelligence, then, do not appear to be related to the type of response given.

It should be kept in mind throughout that the statistics of this experiment are based upon fifty cases. The reliability of the results might have been increased if it had been possible to secure a larger number of cases. In addition, the rather clear-cut results listed above may in some measure be ascribed to the fact that a relatively normal group of boys was placed in sharp comparison with a group of boys who had already shown serious problems of a delinquent nature.

THE TEST RESULTS

Section I of the test was analyzed in several different ways. As was noted previously, if a boy reacted to the described situation in a manner different from his parents then this was taken to be an indication of non-identification. Calculation revealed that the mean number of times out of six possible occasions on which delinquents did not identify with either parent was 1.76. The mean number of times on which the non-delinquents did not identify with either parent was only .76. Dividing the difference between the means by the standard error of the difference between the means gives us a t -value of 4.5. With an infinite number of degrees of freedom such a value is significant beyond the .00005 level, so that the hypothesis that there is no difference between these means may be positively rejected. With a good deal of safety, we may state that the difference between these means is highly reliable. The delinquents, then, tended to identify materially less with their parents than non-delinquents.

We were also interested in discovering whether each boy identified with his father more often than with his mother. The mean number of times on which the boys of Group B identified with their father more often than mother is 3.4. The mean of the delinquents is 2.84. The t-test results in a value of 1.15 which is lower than the $t_{.05}$ level of 1.96. Evidently, then, the difference between these means is not significant, but it is well to note that there is a slight inclination for non-delinquents to identify with their fathers rather than their mothers more often than delinquents.

Nevertheless, we find that delinquents and non-delinquents combined and treated as a group identified with their father on an average of 1.12 times more often than with their mother. The hypothesis that this mean is not reliably different from zero is certainly untenable, since we obtain a t-value of 4.66 which is significant beyond the .00005 level. Thus, we come upon the interesting finding that the boys in both groups identify significantly more often with their fathers than with their mothers.

Reference to the test will show that for each item in Section I there are several possible reactions. Certain of these would be conducive to good relationships, others probably would have the opposite effect. From our standpoint, the following would not contribute to wholesome relationships: (1) yelling at or beating the boy; (2) ignoring or not bothering with him; (3) not paying attention to him or telling him to get out of the way; (4) hitting him on the head or scolding him; (5) not taking him out; (6) staying away from him, saying he's no good, scolding him, or telling him they'll get him a lawyer. All the rest, in our opinion, would foster warm feeling between the parents and the boy.

Groups A and B were compared on the frequency with which the boys reported reactions on the part of the parents which were not conducive to good relationships. The mean number of times on which delinquents checked responses of the father that would promote defective relationships was 1. Non-delinquents checked non-conducive reactions for an average of .28 times. Upon computation we obtain a $t_{.001}$ value of 3.39. Evidently then, the hypothesis that the difference between these means is zero is not acceptable and we may be confident that there is a very real difference between them. Thus, the fathers of delinquent children were pictured as reacting more frequently in a manner not likely to result in satisfactory relationships.

According to the reactions the delinquents attributed to their mothers, the mean number of occasions on which the latter reacted

in such a way as to frustrate desirable relationships was 1.64, while the mean number of such reactions attributed by the members of Group B to their mothers was only .72. Since t which is equal to 2.78 is significant beyond the .01 level, we may rest assured that the differences between these means is reliable. The mothers of delinquent children, then, are pictured as making significantly more reactions not conducive to good relationships than the mothers of non-delinquents.

Both groups, however, consistently chose the mother more times than the father as reacting in a way calculated to disturb affectional association. The mean number of occasions on which the boys ascribed more unsuitable reactions to mother than to father was .58. The mean divided by the standard error of the mean gave us a t -score of 3.22. The latter passes the .002 level of significance, so that the hypothesis that this mean is not different from zero may be rejected. The difference is reliably greater than might be expected. Thus in both groups significantly more reactions not conducive to good relationships were attributed to the mother than to the father.

The items of Section II will be treated individually. The first one is merely a sample question, the others have greater relevance for our problem. The latter items gave rise to results illustrated in Table VII.

TABLE VII
RESPONSES TO ITEMS OF SECTION II

| | <i>Items</i> | <i>Like Me</i> | <i>Not Like Me</i> | <i>Chi-square</i> | <i>Level of Significance</i> |
|---|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 2 | Delinquents | 17 | 8 | 22.22 | .00005 |
| | Non-delinquents .. | 1 | 24 | | |
| 4 | D | 10 | 15 | 8.61 | .01 |
| | ND | 4 | 21 | | |
| 5 | D | 12 | 13 | 17.56 | .00005 |
| | ND | 25 | 0 | | |
| 6 | D | 13 | 12 | 15.38 | .0001 |
| | ND | 1 | 24 | | |
| 8 | D | 7 | 18 | 8.13 | .01 |
| | ND | 0 | 25 | | |
| 9 | D | 15 | 10 | 18.18 | .00005 |
| | ND | 3 | 22 | | |

In tabulation, the "that's like me" and the "that's a little like me" columns were combined for all items in this section. It was assumed that the "that's a little like me" choice constituted a grudging admission or was at least a recognition by the individual

of a definite trend. Also it is plain that the differences between the responses made by both groups to these items are statistically significant. The assertions made below then, should be gauged with this fact in mind. Reliable differences were not found between the reactions of Groups A and B to items three and seven, so that these results were omitted from the table.

It will be recalled that the second item stated: "Al usually does what he wants no matter what his folks say." From Table VI we gather that seventeen of the delinquents acknowledged that they were like Al while only one non-delinquent associated himself with this non-existent boy. The majority of the delinquents, then, unlike the non-delinquents, feel that they do, or would like to do, what they want despite the contrary directions of their parents. They appear to be less inclined to obey their parents than are the boys in Group B.

Item 4 tried to get at much the same point with reference to the father only. Only four of the non-delinquents felt that they were old enough to ignore the bidding of their fathers. Ten of the boys in Group A disclosed a similar bent. Although the difference between the two groups is significant, the reduced percentage of delinquents is perfectly in line with the previous finding that their fathers tend to make fewer reactions not conducive to good relationships than the mother and also that the delinquents tend to identify more often with their fathers than with their mothers. However, the fathers of delinquent children react undesirably more frequently than the fathers of non-delinquent children, so that it is not strange to find significantly more boys in Group A than in Group B who are disposed to ignore their father's injunctions.

In connection with item 5 almost half of the delinquents admitted that they played hookey in the past. Not one of the non-delinquents indicated that they had ever engaged in this type of activity. In confirmation of every-day observation, a dependably greater number of delinquents play hookey than non-delinquents.

Item 6 was particularly important because it sought to determine what effect unsatisfactory parental actions would have on these boys. The majority of the delinquents, thirteen boys, indicated that they retaliate on such occasions by behaving in a manner contrary to the known wishes of their parents. One lone non-delinquent perceived this trend within himself. Retaliation usually follows upon the heels of a felt injustice. Probably, the boys in Group B have not been wronged as regularly as the delinquents, nor have

they been subjected to as many unsuitable parental reactions as the latter. Like as not, punishment is administered at a time when the lad inwardly knows that it is in some measure deserved. Consequently, few non-delinquents feel the need to even the score with their parents when disciplined, in which respect they are significantly different from delinquents.

The results on item 8 tie up neatly with the earlier finding that the mothers of delinquent children make significantly more unwholesome reactions than the mothers of non-delinquent children. Thus seven boys in Group A found themselves always fighting with their mothers, while no one in Group B made such an indication. A few boys in Group A who held that they were not constantly in conflict with their mother qualified this by stating, like Nelson P., that they were "never around to fight. I'm always playing football." It is reaffirmed here then that more delinquents are in conflict with their mothers than non-delinquents.

The last item shows that fifteen of the subjects in Group A had but little compunction about taking something when and if they wanted it. Three non-delinquents moved in the same direction. Apparently then, a significantly greater number of delinquents than non-delinquents were able to participate in such activity without inhibition.

TABLE VIII
RESPONSES TO SECTION III

| <i>Section III</i> | <i>Father, Mother, or Either</i> | <i>Others</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Delinquents | 15 | 10 |
| Non-Delinquents | 23 | 2 |

The above table gives the results obtained from Section III of the test. Twenty-three of the non-delinquents spontaneously said they would take both or at least one parent to live with them on a desert isle. Fifteen boys in Group A met this problem in the same way. The difference between the groups are reliable since the observed Chi-square of 7.01 is significant beyond the .01 level. If it is agreed that these replies are some indication of the child's attachment to his parents, then we may deduce that fewer delinquents are attached to their parents than non-delinquents.

Section IV sheds additional light on the problem of identification. The mean number of occasions on which delinquents did not

identify or make the same choice of a personality trait as their parents is 3.36. The mean number of times on which non-delinquents made choices different from both parents is .48. We may be highly confident that the difference between these means is dependable, inasmuch as the observed t-score of 5.8 is beyond the .00005 level of significance. Again, we may conclude that delinquents tend to identify with their parents on fewer occasions than non-delinquents. Merging Groups A and B, we find that the boys choose differently from their mothers on an average of .32 times more often than they do from their fathers. This mean is reliably different from zero, since the obtained t-value of 2.66 surpasses the .01 level of significance. Thus both delinquents and non-delinquents are inclined to identify significantly less often with their mothers than with their fathers, or conversely, there is greater identification with the father than with the mother.

In connection with this section, non-identification is especially noteworthy, for it suggests a marked divergence between children and their parents with reference to the selection of personality characteristics. This point is graphically illustrated in Table IX.

TABLE IX
SELECTION OF PERSONALITY TRAITS IN SECTION IV

| <i>Section IV</i> | <i>Inclusion of One or More Undesirable Personality Traits in Choices</i> | | | <i>Number of Boys Who Ignore Desirable Choices Made by One or Both Parents</i> |
|-----------------------|---|---------------|------------|--|
| | <i>Father</i> | <i>Mother</i> | <i>Boy</i> | |
| Delinquents | 2 | 1 | 16 | 14 |
| Non-delinquents | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 |

Of the sixteen possible choices it was taken for granted that certain characteristics were undesirable, namely reckless, a Dead-End Kid, wild, hot-headed, a toughie, rough and disobedient. The items which referred to being a fighter, "one of the boys," or flashy were not counted because it was noticed that the subjects did not agree on the meaning of these terms. The remaining items were considered to be desirable.

Table IX shows that according to the boys the parents in both groups selected the preferable traits for their children, with only one or two exceptions. The boys evidently are aware of what their parents would like them to be. And, we can see that the parents of delinquent children are said to want much the same sort of thing

for their boys as do the parents of non-delinquent children. Nevertheless, we find that sixteen of the delinquents include one or more undesirable trait among their selections, while only one non-delinquent dissents from his group in this way. The number of cases is too small to warrant this use of the Chi-square test, but the discrepancy between the two groups is so large that a significant difference may be taken for granted. The same holds with respect to the number of delinquents (fourteen) who ignore desirable choices made by one or both parents. Only five of the non-delinquents followed this course of action. Unlike non-delinquents then, delinquents not only fail to introject characteristics prized by their parents, but actively strive to pick up traits which are openly antagonistic to the expressed selections of their parents.

Review of Section V of the test will show that acknowledgment of certain wishes by a child might reveal certain deficiencies in his emotional development. Probably this section could have been improved by limiting the possible number of choices to five or six, so that each child would have been compelled to select those which had the greatest importance to him.

As it stands, we can still glean some meaningful data from it. The mean number of wishes made by delinquents was 6.52, while mean number of wants expressed by the non-delinquents was 4.64. The difference between these means is statistically significant since $t_{.002}$ is equal to 3.10 and the observed t is 3.20. Delinquents then, checked a reliably greater number of wishes than non-delinquents. In every day life we note that there is some relationship between cravings or longings and frustrations or deprivations. The child who lacks a bicycle builds up a day dream in which his wish for this vehicle is expressed in variegated form. Adults as well, long for the things they do not have. This relationship was clearly expressed by Irving T., of the non-delinquent group, who said that he didn't have to wish for his father to love him more since "he loves me enough now." Several other members of his group expressed the same view. If we accept this argument, then we can agree that the larger number of wishes made by delinquents is due to the presence of certain lacks in their emotional life.

Let us turn to some of the individual items in this section.

Twenty-one subjects in Group A (Table X) wanted "to go on a trip all alone with mother," while only ten of the boys in Group B expressed such a desire. Chi-square which is equal to 10.27 is significant beyond the .002 level, so that we may be assured that the

TABLE X
RESPONSES TO SECTION V, ITEM 4

| <i>V-4</i> | <i>Wish for Trip with Mother</i> | <i>No Such Wish Indicated</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Delinquents | 21 | 4 |
| Non-delinquents | 10 | 15 |

difference between the groups is highly reliable. Thus, a dependably larger group of delinquents than non-delinquents disclosed a need for closer association with their mothers. It is intriguing to note that twenty-one delinquents express this desire about mothers who as we have seen frequently treat their boys inappropriately and unsatisfactorily. Evidently that which they lack acutely they wish for most.

TABLE XI
RESPONSES TO SECTION V, ITEM 13

| <i>V-13</i> | <i>Have Father Love You More</i> | <i>No Such Wish Made</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Delinquents | 23 | 2 |
| Non-delinquents | 16 | 9 |

The majority in both groups (Table XI) expressed the desire to have their fathers love them more, namely twenty-three of the delinquents and sixteen of the non-delinquents. The difference between the groups is significant at the .02 level, which indicates that the discrepancy is fairly reliable, but not altogether certain. It is possible to state, though, more delinquents tend to check this want than non-delinquents, which is another indication of deprivation.

TABLE XII
RESPONSES TO SECTION V, ITEM 14

| <i>Section V, 14</i> | <i>Go Out with Father More Often</i> | <i>No Such Wish Made</i> |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------------|
| Delinquents | 24 | 1 |
| Non-delinquents | 19 | 6 |

With but one exception every delinquent (Table XII) checked this wish. Among the non-delinquents, however, there were six such exceptions. The observed Chi-square is 4.15, so that it may be inter-

preted in the same manner as the one obtained for item 13. With some safety, we may say that more delinquents are inclined to want to go out more often with their fathers than non-delinquents.

No significant differences were found between the groups with reference to any of the other wishes, but whatever discrepancies existed were always in the favor of delinquents, that is more of them wished for each item than did non-delinquents.

The outstanding result of Section VI was that the majority of boys in both groups, fifteen in each (Table XIII) felt that it would be most difficult to lie to their mothers. And a majority of the boys as well believed that the individual to whom it would be next hardest to lie to would be one's father.

TABLE XIII
RESPONSES TO SECTION VI (A)

| VI (a) | Mother | | Father | |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | 1st Choice | 2nd Choice | 1st Choice | 2nd Choice |
| Delinquents | 15 | 7 | 4 | 13 |
| Non-delinquents | 15 | 7 | 6 | 15 |

Part (b), Section VI did not differentiate between the two groups at all. The overwhelming bulk of both groups stated that they most admired either both their parents or one of their parents and another individual.

CORRELATIONS

Up to this point we have been primarily interested in comparing the differences between Groups A and B. It may be worthwhile now to examine the relationships which certain of our findings have with one another. The method best adapted to the dichotomous form of our data was the tetrachoric method of correlation. For a sample of fifty cases a product-moment r would have to exceed .36 to be significant at the one percent level. A tetrachoric r would have to be somewhat larger, say about .40 to be significant at the .01 level.

TABLE XIV
CORRELATION BETWEEN STORIES 1 AND 2

| 50 Subjects | Knives | No Knives | Totals |
|--------------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Home | 5 | 16 | 21 |
| Trip | 18 | 11 | 29 |
| Totals | 23 | 27 | 50 |

The correlation between the responses made to Story 1 and those made to Story 2 is .54 (Table XIV). One might say that this correlation is reliably different from zero, since it surpasses the level of significance upon which we settled. In other words, boys who went on the trip tended to end Story 2 by retaining their knives, while those who stayed home with their parents leaned toward surrendering their knives in accordance with the wishes of the parents. Thus there seems to be a connection between attachment to one's parents and the degree to which the biddings of the latter are effective. Even in every day life the attitudes of individuals we like greatly influence our behavior.

TABLE XV
CORRELATION BETWEEN STORIES 1 AND 3

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Stole</i> | <i>Did Not Steal</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Home | 3 | 18 | 21 |
| Trip | 22 | 7 | 29 |
| Totals | 25 | 25 | 50 |

The correlation between Stories 1 and 3 (Table XV) is even higher, namely .74. Apparently significant, it indicates that the boys who preferred to remain home with their parents, generally did not engage in a stealing episode in Story 3. The boys, however, who completed Story 1 by going on a trip were more apt to have "Jim" steal in Story 3. The power of parental moralization seems to stem from the affectional tie that exists between parent and child.

TABLE XVI
CORRELATION BETWEEN STORIES 2 AND 4

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Knives</i> | <i>No Knives</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|
| Went to Parent | 7 | 21 | 28 |
| Went to Friend | 16 | 6 | 22 |
| Totals | 23 | 27 | 50 |

This point is reaffirmed in Table XVI. A tetrachoric r of .62 was obtained between the replies to Stories 2 and 4. Boys, then, whose first concern was about their parents tended to be more susceptible to their parents' desires in Story 2. On the other hand, those lads who readily passed over the needs of their parents were disposed to keep their knives in replying to this story. Boys then

who exhibited less anxiety for the welfare of their parents also were less likely to follow the precepts laid down by their parents.

TABLE XVII
CORRELATION BETWEEN STORIES 3 AND 4

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Stole</i> | <i>Did Not Steal</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Went to Parent | 6 | 23 | 29 |
| Went to Friend | 18 | 3 | 21 |
| Totals | 24 | 26 | 50 |

A correlation of .84 was found to exist between the completions of Story 3 and those of Story 4 (Table XVII). In brief, those lads who went to their parents in Story 3 were not liable to steal in Story 4 and vice versa. Again parental moralization is associated with the child's affection as exemplified by his concern for them.

The following table attempts to describe the dependence between identification in Section I of the test and one's response to item 2 of Section II. Item 2, it will be recalled, referred to a boy who did what he wanted no matter what his folks said, and the making of one or more choices different from one's parents in Section I was taken to signify shallow identification.

TABLE XVIII
CORRELATION BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION AND SECTION II, ITEM 2

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Like Me</i> | <i>Not Like Me</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|---|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Boys making one or more choices different from parents' | 13 | 15 | 28 |
| Boys making no choices different from parents' | 5 | 17 | 22 |
| Totals | 18 | 32 | 50 |

A correlation of .40 was found between the factor of identification and the type of reaction made to item 2, that is the boys who tended to identify with their parents felt they were not like "Al" who did what he wanted despite his parents' wishes. Boys, however, who were not inclined to identify with their parents noted that they did whatever they desired "no matter what their folks" said. Identification, therefore, appears to be somewhat connected with the value which a boy places on parental pronouncements.

Here an effort was made to find whether there was any correlation between indications of desirable parental reactions in Section I

TABLE XIX
CORRELATION BETWEEN PARENTAL REACTIONS AND SECTION II, ITEM 2

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Like Me</i> | <i>Not Like Me</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|---|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Father's reaction not conducive to good relationship | 15 | 8 | 23 |
| No reactions not conducive to good relationship | 3 | 24 | 27 |
| Totals | 18 | 32 | 50 |

and what a boy did on item 2 of Section II, which is the same item referred to above. A tetrachoric r of .86 was computed. There was a reliable tendency then for boys who reported that their fathers made one or more reactions not conducive to good relationships to indicate that they liked to do what they wanted in spite of their parents. Boys however who reported no such reactions on the part of their father felt they were not like the lad described in the item. Inappropriate treatment of children by their fathers seems to be accompanied by a rejection of known parental directions.

Along this same line, a correlation of .32 was obtained between unsatisfactory reactions on the part of the mother and responses to item 2. This r is significant somewhat above the 5% level. It does not, however, have the degree of reliability of an r significant at the .01 level. It is probably safe to state that the relationship is slight but positive. Inadequate handling of a child by its mother may then bear a relation to the child's reluctance to respect her wishes.

TABLE XX
CORRELATION BETWEEN STORY 4 AND SECTION II, ITEM 2

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Like Me</i> | <i>Not Like Me</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Parent | 5 | 23 | 28 |
| Friend | 13 | 9 | 22 |
| Totals | 18 | 32 | 50 |

Table XX describes the relationship which exists between replies to Story 4 and responses to item 2 of Section II. The latter item went as follows: "When Freddy wants something he usually just takes it." Story 4 gave each boy an opportunity to go to his parent or friend in case of accident. A correlation of .44 was secured. Thus boys who went to their friends rather than their parents were disposed to ally themselves with "Freddy," while those who went to

their parents tended to believe that they were different from this lad. Boys, then, who appropriate the objects of others without much restraint appear to be characterized by a weaker attachment to their parents.

TABLE XXI
CORRELATION BETWEEN SECTION III AND SECTION II, ITEM 6

| <i>50 Subjects</i> | <i>Like Me</i> | <i>Not Like Me</i> | <i>Totals</i> |
|--|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Choice of mother, father, or either | 7 | 30 | 37 |
| Others | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| Totals | 14 | 36 | 50 |

Here we were concerned with the correlation (Table XXI) between the responses of boys to Section III of the test and the sixth item in Section II. In Section III each boy was asked which two people he would take along if he were marooned on an island for the rest of his life. Item 6 dealt with retaliation on the boy's part if yelled at or beaten by his parents. The tetrachoric r obtained was .59. The boys then who preferred to take one or both parents along were not inclined to want to get even if spanked by their parents. Boys, however, who generally chose to take along individuals other than their parents did tend to want to even the score with their parents after being punished. Punitive measures, then, seem to elicit a less destructive reaction in children who are affectionally attached to their parents.

A good deal of evidence then is at hand which suggests that important interrelationships exist between such factors as affectional attachment, identification, wholesome treatment of children, and the personality trends of these boys.

THE MURRAY APPERCEPTION CARDS

Nothing very conclusive can be said about the responses made by the boys in each group to the Murray-Apperception cards. More relevant data would have been secured perhaps had a larger number of the cards been specifically concerned with phases of family life. Furthermore, the situations depicted in the cards were so clearly structured that the stories built up by the boys contained themes which were similar in many respects. However, this was probably due in part to a tendency on the part of boys in both groups not to indulge in free interpretation, but rather to compromise on a cross between interpretation and description.

In any event, it is difficult to present this type of data objectively since the determination of themes depends almost entirely on the subjective interpretation of the examiner. Even so, no clear-cut differentiation was discovered between the themes of the delinquents and non-delinquents with possibly one exception. One card shows a tiny figure at a lighted window in the midst of a vast expanse of blackness. Thirteen non-delinquents felt that this individual either liked the night air or was admiring the moon or the sky, or was exercising before the window, etc. Only three delinquents rendered themes of this nature. Perhaps (and this should be taken as speculation) delinquents are much too much fettered with problems and submerged in discord to be able to lift themselves above the difficulties of everyday life to perceive wholesomeness about them, as do a comparable group of non-delinquents.

A report on the case histories which were procured for the different groups will be given in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER VI

INTEGRATION AND DISCUSSION

Conceivably delinquency may stem from many sources. Delinquency can be explained on the basis of an identification with an undesirable ego-ideal. A boy brought up to have no regard for the rights of others, for property, or for the law cannot be expected to conform to the prevailing customs of our culture. It is as if he were reared in a sub-culture in which such behavior is "right" and acceptable, particularly with reference to the out-group. It has been shown, however, that not only are most delinquents aware of acceptable standards of behavior, but that their parents as well want them to be characterized by the most desirable attributes. Places where this standpoint falls somewhat short have been reviewed in the first chapter. But there is no doubt that there is such a class of delinquents.

Delinquency may also be a mode of overcoming fancied or real inadequacies. A lad who has doubts about his physical prowess or whose undersized frame has caused him much anguish may resort to delinquency if he finds it helps to reduce the tension within him. Such situations may occur with some frequency. If our society had not placed a high value upon manliness and virility such a feeling of inferiority might never have resulted. It is not the value itself which is harmful as much as it is the rigidity and intensity with which people demand these traits in others. One who does not possess these characteristics often has no other alternative but to sense that somehow he has fallen far short of the norm. It may be recalled that as far back as the days of the wild west the man outside of the law was in a sense extolled for his courage and daring. Today the movies and the press have taken up the burden and we see and read of strong men who have committed robberies and executed bold escapes. An effort is being made to combat this trend. Thus far, however, to the boy who has feelings of deficiency it has offered an attractive pathway for compensation. Participation in arrogant and lawless adventures meets his need to be seen as a man among men. The whole cycle is set in motion by the individual's feeling of inferiority; delinquency merely offers a convenient outlet.

Delinquency may also be the consequence of more profound psychological conflicts which are unsatisfactorily resolved. Fetishists, for instance, do not steal for material gain, but rather because

the particular objects they acquire have a sexual meaning for them. Individuals may enter into illegal professions such as prostitution because of an inability to overcome certain pathological childhood experiences. Others may attach a singular significance to property and be powerfully obsessed with the notion that they must wreak havoc upon it. A final example would be the paranoid who earnestly believes that his parents, teachers, policemen, etc., have deliberately treated him unfairly, and therefore breaks out into open revolt against all authority. On a less serious plane, there are boys who feel that they have been unduly persecuted, and who crystallize their resentment by breaking conventions or laws. These illustrations which range all the way from neuroses to psychoses, because of their nature fall under the heading of delinquency.

Children and adults may also be driven to crime by a sense of guilt, as the analyses of Alexander and Healy (2) show. For different reasons certain individuals have come to experience a strong sense of guilt. A feeling of this kind may result from the coincidental death of a family member at a time when a child wished that this person would suffer precisely such a fate. The child's conscious or sub-conscious self-reproach is then manifested by behavior which is clearly directed toward the acquisition of punishment. There are criminals who find solace only in imprisonment. No sooner are such persons released than they violate their parole so that they may be quickly returned.

There is also the sort of delinquent who may be cited as a direct contradiction of the hypothesis of this experiment. It will be pointed out that there are boys who have a strong affectional tie with their parents, who identify with their parents, and whose parents are upright and respected members of the community. Yet it may be shown that a few such boys commit acts of delinquency. Boys of this kind have usually been so sheltered and over-protected that they have an inadequate conception of reality. They have no real understanding of the meaning of consequences, since the effects of their actions have always been softened and absorbed by the solicitous activity of their parents. In a word, they don't believe that anything can really happen to them. This kind of boy probably does not become a repeated offender, especially if he is permitted to learn that certain modes of behavior have certain inevitable results.

Enough has been written to make clear that delinquency is not a term which describes a unitary entity. Under this broad heading

are included people who range from the normal to the abnormal. It may be a symptom of a variety of heterogeneous and unrelated causes. The different types of determinants described above account for only a part of the delinquent population. Perhaps if we examine the nature of delinquency more carefully we can ascertain what basic personality structure is mainly associated with this kind of behavior.

When we speak of a delinquent child, we generally refer to a child who has committed some misdeed or who has violated one of society's laws or traditions. Whenever then one's course of action conflicts with a societal regulation it immediately acquires a legal connotation. And since we are literally surrounded by restraints, it is no wonder that individuals with totally different types of problems find themselves lumped together in one comprehensive category.

True, there are laws which individuals are compelled to transgress because these laws do not take sufficient cognizance of their particular needs. The cliche that laws enable us to mete out equal justice for all is plainly fictitious. A law which states that all vehicles are to be parked off the streets at night certainly will not affect all men equally. The home owner with a private garage probably will not even notice that such a regulation has been passed. But to a poor truckman who ekes out his living by making short hauls in an old jalopy it will present a definite hardship. Along this line, conduct is countenanced and even approved in "big" business circles, which would result in immediate prosecution if this truckman would attempt to deal with his neighbors and customers in the same way. But such problems are chiefly confined to the adult level. The chances are that children meet with them much more rarely.

The essence of delinquency, then, seems to be that the child does not do what he is supposed to do. Homespun as this formulation may be, it may characterize the great preponderance of delinquents. The definition given by the National Probation Association (36), which is quoted below, interprets delinquency in a similar sense. "The words 'delinquent child' include: (a) A child who has violated any law of the state or any ordinance or regulation of a subdivision of the state (b) A child who by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient is uncontrolled by his parent, guardian, or custodian (c) A child who is habitually truant from school or home (d) A child who habitually deports himself as to injure or endanger the morals of himself or others." The pith of each of the four divisions

is that delinquents are children who do not conduct themselves as we presume they ought to. In the answer to the question as to why delinquents do not deport themselves as their parents and society expect they should may be part of the explanation of the problem of delinquency. There is evidently a good deal of breadth to the Probation Association's definition. Such a definition makes it increasingly difficult to distinguish between a good many delinquents and problem children.

The psychological basis of moral behavior is to be found in the development of the super-ego or, roughly, the conscience. Potentially the most powerful agency for the enforcement of moral behavior lies within the individual, not in external sanctions. The more we rely upon the latter the more morality becomes situational (our behavior being determined by the outside coercion existent at the moment); the more we rely upon the former the more morality becomes general. Within the super-ego, then, are contained the forces which can either inhibit or permit behavior which runs contrary to the general interest.

It may be well, therefore, to consider the conditions which govern the growth of an effective super-ego. Every family is expected to transmit to its children the fundamental values accepted in our culture, so that the equilibrium of society will not be disturbed by outstanding deviants. The nature of this process of transmission is our main interest at this point. Freud and others have shown that one's parents are preeminently important in the conveyance of the customs and traditions of society to the child. The absorption of these mores is not so much a consequence of direct teaching as it is the outcome of a delicate and subtle adjustment between the parents and child. The child assimilates a great deal on a subconscious level as a result of an active identification with his parents. Values are acquired from other sources such as teachers, friends, etc., but the child's relationship with his parents is of decisive significance.

One cardinal point then in the formation of the super-ego is the process of identification. No doubt identification is facilitated by the presence of an affectional relationship. In fact the process may be altogether disrupted or at least hindered if such a dynamic tie is absent. Affection, then, seems to be one of the important driving forces behind identification. It is possible, however, to visualize the case where only hatred exists between two people, and yet one of these individuals endeavors to take over the traits of the other.

Thus if the best characteristics of one's adversary are absorbed there will be no need for envy. While such identification exists in some degree in every individual, it is probably less common and important than the type just described.

For the most part we are inclined to model ourselves after the people whom we admire. The pronouncements of individuals whom we hold in great esteem are immediately given credence over a conflicting opinion, often not because there is more truth in the statements of our favorite but rather because of the emotional value we attach to anything he says. MacDougall (26) summarizes this point with exceptional clarity. "Of all the affective attitudes of one man toward another, admiration is the one which renders him most susceptible to the other's influence and it is easy to see why this should be so. . . . Admiration is compounded of wonder and negative self-feeling. The impulse of wonder keeps his attention directed upon the admired person; the impulse of negative self-feeling throws him into the submissive, receptive, suggestible attitude toward the object of his admiration. Hence the child accepts the moral propositions of the person he admires, he imitates their actions, and sympathetically shares their moral actions . . . the extent of their influence is only limited by his intellectual capacity for forming abstract conceptions of the various qualities of conduct and character." The influence of affection, then, on the process of identification should by no means be underestimated.

Thus no new psychological principles need to be set forth in an effort to understand delinquency. Delinquency can be understood in terms of the general psychological principles we utilize to understand any normal individual. They do not constitute a distinct and separate class, but rather they are scattered all along the continuum of adjustment. Murphy (27) puts it this way: "Delinquency as a deviant and socially disapproved form of social behavior needs no 'laws' beyond those needed to explain the development of a socially accepted individual." (See Young (40).)

Plainly then, affection and identification are essential elements in the development of moral behavior. What data has this experiment uncovered with reference to the connection between these factors and delinquency? Before continuing, it should be said that it is not our belief that delinquents do not identify with their parents at all. Rather we contend that the relationships between delinquents and their parents are such that the delinquent only weakly consolidates the morals and ideals of his parents. That is, he knows what

they would like him to do, but because they have but little emotional value for him, he does not introject their injunctions on an emotional level. It is not enough apparently to know what should be done. More fundamental than cognition is the depth at which we feel that this or that action is "wrong." The values of delinquents are not so profoundly anchored, because they emanate from individuals who have but minor emotional significance for them.

A substantial amount of the evidence we have gathered vouches for the truth of the assertion that reliably fewer delinquents than non-delinquents have an intimate affectional attachment to their parents. This point was demonstrated in several ways: delinquents can break their bonds to their parents much more readily than non-delinquents; they exhibit less solicitude for the welfare of their parents than non-delinquents; they have less need for the presence of their parents than non-delinquents. Furthermore, delinquents expressed significantly more wishes for a better relationship with their parents than did non-delinquents. All of these points would appear to indicate that delinquents are less fond of their parents than non-delinquents.

The reliability of these findings is augmented from two separate directions. Let us first inspect the case histories of the two groups. Out of the twenty-five boys in Group A twenty-three came from families in which it would have been practically impossible for desirable relationships to predominate. These were some of the family situations: the father had deserted and the mother was hysterical; the mother was placid and unable to give affection, the father was weak and vacillating—the handling of their boy was on the severe, punitive side; the father and mother were separated; favoritism was shown by the parents to another child; the boy was unmercifully beaten by mother; violent and abusive father, and boy did not live with mother; parents inadequate; home was completely disorganized as father had deserted and mother burdened children with her worries and fears; father alcoholic, no supervision and a great deal of friction in home; father deserts periodically and mother neurotic; illegitimate boy viewed by mother as inferior; constant dissension in home accompanied by open rejection; boy sent from one home to another; mother openly maintained promiscuous relations with other men; boy felt rejected and was badly neglected. All of these represent individual cases and are direct quotations from the case histories on file at P.S. 37. No wonder that delinquents know so little of the security and warmth of affection.

Compare this to the family structure which typically prevails among the non-delinquents. The father was a hard worker and the boy in question was his favorite, the mother is a neat, constructive woman; the parents of the next boy insisted that their greatest difficulty with their boy was that he didn't like to wear a coat; affection for the boy was apparent in the tone of her description of his activities; father went out frequently with boy and mother expresses affection for him; parents indicated they were very proud of their boy; mother said that they both love the boy but try hard not to make too great a fuss about him; mother and father separated, but boy is very close to his mother—helped her with all the household duties. Almost invariably the family relationships seemed to be conducive to a relatively harmonious affective atmosphere.

The case histories, to return, demonstrate that the home conditions of delinquents are such that they would be scarcely stimulated to feel deep affection for their parents. In this connection it is interesting to note that forty-four percent of the delinquent group have at one time or other run away from home, which does not seem to be a sign of affection. Furthermore, it has been shown that the parents of delinquents tend to handle the problems of their children in such a way as to disrupt affective association on significantly more occasions than the parents of non-delinquent children. While the delinquency of a child may be related to parental attitudes, the parents themselves probably become less favorably disposed toward the child as his behavior becomes more disturbing. Since this in turn affects the child a vicious circle is set up. It appears reasonable, then, to conclude that there is a lesser degree of affection between delinquents and their parents than between non-delinquents and their parents.

Varying gradations of negative feeling, then, seem to exist between delinquents and their parents. It might be of interest to compare the personality characteristics of delinquent children with those of rejected children. Bridges (6) finds that delinquents are generally egotistic, aggressive, impudent, contrary, over-acquisitive, and that they also suffer from feelings of inferiority. Healy and Bronner (20) state that they are characterized by great restlessness, hyperactivity, moodiness, temper outbursts, irritability, and inferiority feelings. Independent investigators thus agree fairly well on the personality traits of delinquents. In his study on parent-child relationships Symonds (39) discovered that rejected children are restless, hyperactive, aggressive, anti-social, talkative, unstable, seek

attention, and are antagonistic to society and its institutions. Apparently there is a remarkable similarity between delinquents and rejected children. It is not implied that delinquents and rejected children are identical. But the correspondence between the traits of these two groups suggests that these characteristic may stem from a common source in many instances. Perhaps this comparison helps to validate the claim that there are defective affectional relations between delinquents and their parents.

Now let us turn to the question of identification. It has been established that delinquents identify with their parents on significantly fewer occasions than non-delinquents. This tendency toward non-identification is particularly conspicuous with respect to parental methods of dealing with the ordinary problems of child life and with respect to the choice of personality characteristics. Delinquents, then, are far less eager to introject their parent's values than are non-delinquents. Thus the group which is marked by unsatisfactory affectional relationships is also characterized by a smaller amount of identification.

In both groups the boys tended to identify dependably more often with their fathers than with their mothers. In part this may be ascribed to cultural pressure. Boys may identify mainly with their fathers while their relationship to their mothers may be of a different order. The relationship to their mothers may be more in the nature of love; to their father it may be more a matter of identification. But it may also be related to the fact that the two groups combined reported that the mothers reacted in a manner likely to disturb affectional relations significantly more often than the fathers. The experimental evidence tends to corroborate the theoretical point we made earlier, namely that identification seems to be facilitated by a firm affectional relationship. Empirically, as well, it would seem to follow where there is less affection there is less identification.

To digress for a moment, it should be reported that clinicians such as Aichhorn (1) and David Levy (24) have asserted that the delinquent child generally has an aggressive, dominating father who feels that children's problems are best solved by severity and physical force. The mother is more likely to be soft and yielding—to whom the delinquent escapes after the father's sallies. While this would tend to corroborate our finding that the parents of delinquent children treat their children unsuitably more often than the parents of non-delinquent children, in one respect our

results contradict their contention. We have found that the mother rather than the father is the figure more likely to react punitively from the point of view of the boy. This disagreement, however, seems to be minor and does not affect our essential thesis.

Delinquents, then, seem to fulfill all the conditions associated with the faulty formation of the super-ego. Both the degree of their affection for and the extent of their identification with their parents is significantly less than that of normal children. Does such a state of affairs noticeably affect the behavior of the individual delinquent? The results we have secured indicate that this question may be answered in the affirmative. In group terms, we have found that a dependably larger number of delinquents than non-delinquents disregard parental injunctions; that fewer delinquents are influenced by parental moralization than non-delinquents; that delinquents tend to ignore the biddings of their parents unlike non-delinquents; that fewer delinquents exercise restraint with respect to the property of others; that significantly more delinquents seek to retaliate when yelled at or beaten by their parents; and that a reliably larger number of delinquents than non-delinquents selected undesirable personality traits in direct opposition to their parents. In individual terms, we found that the boys who did not indicate affectional attachment to their parents were the ones who tended to slight the injunctions and moralizations of the latter; that the boys who identified less frequently with their parents were reliably inclined to follow their own whim rather than their parents wish; that the boys whose parents tended to treat their son's problems unsatisfactorily leaned reliably in this direction; finally that the boys who did not indicate a close attachment to their parents generally desired to revenge themselves when punished by engaging in activity calculated to anger their parents. All this would appear to confirm the observation that delinquents have less effectively introjected the values of their parents than non-delinquents. The behavior of children with inadequately structured super-egos is, then, markedly different from that of normal children and runs in a direction contrary to accepted societal standards.

The major propositions of our hypothesis seem to have been sustained. In addition to the facts that some delinquents may be victims of psychological conflicts and some of pernicious communities, in contrast to non-delinquents many are children who show significantly less affectional attachment to their parents, who identify with the latter on reliably fewer occasions, and who, therefore, do not

digest the morals and ideals of their parents on a deep emotional plane. They are children whose values are not firmly anchored, because these values were not implanted by individuals of great significance to them. This weak mooring enables them to move in one direction or another, wherever they are blown, without suffering too acute qualms if it happens to be in the direction of delinquency. Many delinquents, to be sure, deliberately follow this course because it provides a means of retaliating against their parents. But most of them, because of their weak value systems, do not feel deeply enough about the essential wrongness of certain types of behavior, so that even the thought of participation in such actions would be subject to automatic inhibition.

In most cases our hypothesis may be a necessary condition of delinquency, but it assuredly is not a sufficient condition. There probably are many children who are thus characterized but who are not delinquent. For each individual there is a unique combination of causes of which delinquency may be the resultant. Logically, but perhaps arbitrarily, primacy may be assigned to the formation of impotent value systems, but always it will be necessary to seek out and give weight to the auxiliary causes without which delinquency might never have eventuated.

It is in this connection that theories such as Shaw's and Bonger's may have great relevance. From our point of view the potential delinquent is a child who has not thoroughly introjected the values of his parents. For such a child the kind of community in which his home is located may be of decisive importance. If it is a delinquency area the likelihood is great that this typically irresolute lad will readily follow the footsteps of his play group. The roots of his moral feeling do not reach far down enough for him to want to resist the attraction of their activity. It is interesting to note how often the nature of a boy's delinquency takes the form of the one practiced by his companions.

The inordinate number of delinquents in such areas may be due to the fact that more families in such sections are characterized by unsatisfactory relationships. Often people who have failed in the life struggle gravitate to such neighborhoods because they are unable to bear the expenses elsewhere. Aleoholic and irascible, they are unable to take proper care of their children. Others, toil-worn and weary of economic strife become irritable and moody, hardly the picture of desirable parents. Still others have been so reared themselves that they are incapable of meeting the basic needs of their

children. These examples could be multiplied, but they all illustrate the same point, namely that there are more children in such areas who do not experience wholesome family relationships. On the other hand, the home of one of the non-delinquents was the most poverty-stricken the writer had ever seen. The walls were bare, the plaster cracked, about four beds were jammed into one room, the place was filthy and yet the boy was in no way delinquent. Indeed his parents felt he was a "good" boy. There were instances as well in Group B of separation between the parents, but usually the boy had remained either closely tied to one of the parents or had substituted an affectional association with someone else in his environment. Objective factors such as broken homes, inferior economic conditions, quality of the community, etc., appear then to be secondary to the emotional relationships which pervade the home. Frequently, however, they are a strong link in the chain of causation.

The focus in our consideration of the etiology of delinquency, would seem to be the family rather than the community. This position enables us to comprehend phenomena which sociological theories did not seem to explain. It is quite understandable, for instance, why many children in delinquency areas do not become delinquent. Their families in all probability provide necessary and wholesome experiences for them. Our view can account further for the appearance of delinquency in only one boy among several in the same family. Parents do not react identically to all their children. For various reasons their relationship with this particular boy may have been less healthy than their association with his siblings, with consequent effect upon his moral development. Furthermore, delinquency in homes of superior economic status becomes easily comprehensible. Poor super-ego formation in combination with certain indispensable subordinate causes may very conceivably result in delinquency.

The sociological emphasis definitely needs to be considered as one causal factor. The main contribution of this point of view is that it has made us keenly aware of the importance of the objective factors which abet the appearance of delinquency. The broad sociological suggestions for treatment are valuable, but should not be considered ends in themselves. Treatment of delinquency should be oriented toward the family situation in which it is bred. If amelioration of economic conditions or clearance of slum areas will help improve the nature of the relationships in some families, and in all likelihood they would, then such programs should be pursued

with enthusiasm. Improvement of economic conditions may be an important way of changing family relationships in that more security, self-respect, etc., will be felt in the household. But no course of action should be supported if it can in no observable way alter the quality of family relationships, for the latter are of basic significance with reference to the etiology of delinquency. It is when a boy is potentially delinquent, that is when his values are not solidly grounded, that subsidiary determinants have great pertinence.

It is well to recognize, however, that even if community conditions are changed, there will still be a considerable number of delinquents whose behavior will not be affected by such changes. Though we may profitably utilize recommendations for group treatment, it does not appear that delinquency will be brought under control, until facilities are available for the more extensive application of the methods of individual therapy. The high rate of recidivism is probably a result of the inability of the juvenile courts either to thoroughly investigate the etiology of delinquency in each individual case or to carry out appropriate therapy on the strength of their findings. The boys are handled on the basis of their overt actions; the more serious the violation the more likely it is to be treated punitively, despite the fact that such a boy may be most in need of individual therapy. Identical punishment in cases of drastically different etiology does not represent more than a crude striving to do something about a bad situation. The courts have neither the time nor means for this approach, and until such facilities are set up the fight against delinquency will be more in the nature of a delaying action rather than a full-fledged offensive.

The relevance of our findings for treatment procedures was briefly touched upon in the preceding paragraph. This problem may be considered in greater detail. There are many children in whom delinquency is latent, but who are not actual offenders. The behavior of such children is organized about superficial value systems, but because of a fortunate combination of circumstances they have not become delinquent. In times of stress, such as the present emergency, these circumstances may be altered in any number of ways. Parents may shift the location of their home so that the child comes into contact with new friends, or the restraining influence of the parents may be temporarily removed by the necessity that both enter war work. At any rate, the life space of many such children is restructured so that new strains and tensions have to be met.

The sudden spurt in the incidence of delinquency during such times may not be an indication that such periods actually engender delinquency in a greater number of children. It may only show that the lives of those children who are potentially delinquent have been so modified that this potentiality comes to the surface. The behavior of children who have been thoroughly indoctrinated will not be so radically transformed by a change of surroundings or by the temporary absence of their parents. From an immediate point of view these rapid increases in the rate of delinquency may be diminished by giving such children opportunities to expend their energy in socially approved channels. Constructive recreation should be provided for them or their interest in worthwhile movements should be stimulated. It is probably more important to excite such children about scrap drives, for example, than it is to do the same for a group of Boy Scouts.

During ordinary times, as well, such ventures may be used to good advantage. It is important, however, that we do not lose sight of the fact that these efforts are in large measure palliative. Such endeavors place the burden of good conduct on us rather than the boys. Its essence seems to be that we are keeping them out of trouble, not that they themselves do not want to get into trouble. It is negative in the sense that good conduct is imposed from without, and does not stem from within. Insufficient use seems to be made of the vigorous forces within the individual which may be mobilized for the achievement of acceptable behavior. Wholesome recreation is desirable for all children, but when used as a treatment for delinquency, these reservations might be considered. In combination with other approaches, however, this one may be valuable.

Pertinent treatment measures must in some way affect the etiological basis of delinquency. Correctional institutions fail in their task for precisely this reason. When a judge remands a boy to a reformatory, it should be for the purpose of rehabilitating this lad so that he may become a fit member of society. It is highly questionable, however, whether juvenile incarceration has much more effect than fleetingly to remove an annoying thorn from society's side. Certainly the sensitivity of such a boy's super-ego is not going to increase in complete absence of affectional warmth. If anything, his tendency toward delinquency may be augmented by a feeling of resentment and by the opportunity to associate and identify with hard-bitten and confirmed delinquents. The large amounts of money spent on segregation could perhaps be fruitfully diverted to a more effective approach.

In line with the thinking of this study delinquency can be treated best by a combination of treatment approaches. One important aspect of such treatment may involve the modification of the individual's super-ego. Effecting such a change is not a simple matter, but it may be achieved in various ways. The family situation as a whole may be dealt with by means of case work methods. Thus an attempt may be made to modify parental attitudes, as well as the behavior of the boy, the interaction of which probably determines the emotional tone of the home. Individual psychotherapy thus would be required. Often cases may be found where attitudes are so firmly imbedded that there is small likelihood that they could be altered. Appropriate foster home placement, if feasible, may then be one way to solve the problem. Or it may be necessary to try to find an acceptable individual in the child's environment to whom the child can become attached and from whom he can take over values which would stabilize his behavior. Such efforts represent only one of the possible methods of approach. They should be carried out in conjunction with attempts to change the child's companions, his community, and so forth.

It might be well for individuals concerned with the education and rearing of children to give greater weight to the view that it is not enough merely to bring the child into contact with acceptable ideals. Thorough indoctrination probably cannot be achieved by the bare presentation of values, however pleasantly or skillfully this is done. Values seem to be most meaningful to children when they derive them from individuals with whom they have close affectional relationships. Parents and educators may benefit from the use of this concept.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

These results are phrased from the point of view of the individual boy.

1. Reliably fewer delinquents seem to show an affectional attachment to their parents than non-delinquents.
2. Delinquents appear to exhibit less regard for the welfare of their parents than non-delinquents.
3. Delinquents were inclined to identify with their parents on materially fewer occasions than non-delinquents, especially with reference to methods of handling the every day problems of children, as well as in choice of personality characteristics.
4. Delinquents and non-delinquents combined tend to identify with their fathers significantly more often than with their mothers.
5. Delinquents indicated that their fathers react more frequently to the problems presented by their children in a manner calculated to disturb affectional relationships than do the fathers of non-delinquent children.
6. The mothers of delinquent children as well are pictured as making significantly more reactions not conducive to good relationships than do the mothers of non-delinquents.
7. Both groups combined, however, consistently chose the mother more times than the father as reacting in a manner likely to impair affectional association.
8. The parents of delinquents were said to make practically the same choices of personality characteristics for their children as the parents of non-delinquents.
9. A dependably larger number of delinquents than non-delinquents failed to introject traits they thought their parents valued. Reliably more delinquents also chose traits which were directly contrary to the expressed selections of their parents.
10. Significantly more delinquents than non-delinquents signified that they sought to retaliate when unsatisfactorily treated by their parents by engaging in behavior which they knew their parents did not approve.
11. A greater number of delinquents expressed significantly more wishes than non-delinquents. This was taken to indicate certain lacks in their emotional life.
12. The majority of boys in both groups felt it would be most

difficult to lie to their mothers, and that it would be next hardest to lie to their fathers.

13. Dependably fewer delinquents obey the injunctions of their parents than non-delinquents.

14. Significantly fewer delinquents are sensitive to the moralization of their parents than non-delinquents.

15. A reliably larger number of delinquents than non-delinquents are inclined to ignore the expressed biddings of their parents.

16. More delinquents are in constant conflict with their mothers than non-delinquents.

17. A greater number of delinquents than non-delinquents show but slight restraint about taking something if they should want it.

18. Reliably more delinquents reveal a need for closer association with their mothers than non-delinquents.

19. Fewer non-delinquents than delinquents express the need to have their fathers love them more or go out with them more often.

20. The following significant correlations were found:

(a) The boys who tended to show less affectional attachment for their parents were inclined as well to slight the injunctions of their parents.

(b) Affectional attachment was also shown to be related to the effectiveness of parental moralization.

(c) Those boys who exhibited less anxiety for the welfare of their parents were also less likely to follow the precepts laid down by their parents.

(d) The boys who identified less frequently with their parents were inclined to disregard parental pronouncements.

(e) Those lads who unwittingly reported that their fathers react inappropriately to the problems they present tended to reject parental directions.

(f) Boys characterized by a weak attachment to their parents tended to exercise but little restraint with respect to taking the things they liked.

(g) Boys who had deficient affectional relationships with their parents reported that they were inclined to retaliate when punished by indulging in activity designed to irritate their parents.

For the writer's theoretical conclusions it is requested that the reader turn back to Chapter VI.

POSTSCRIPT

Since my principal adviser, Professor Percival M. Symonds is not wholly in agreement with my interpretations, I wish in justice to him to add the following paragraph which he has prepared:

"The author has raised the question whether delinquency is in many cases related in some degree to the emotional difficulties and conflicts which make it difficult or impossible for a child to identify with his parents in their role of conveyors of morality. It should be emphasized that identification in this sense is only one, and by no means necessarily the chief, aspect of identification. Emotional congruence of parent and child based upon unconscious identification may well be of greater import; but not having individual psychoanalytic records for these children, the author does not venture to infer the individual identification structures which may be present. He attempts simply to deal with the child's acceptance or rejection of identification patterns based upon the parental role of symbolizing the moral code of society. It is well to assume that some conflict within the child must occur through such rejection, but the author's clinical data are insufficient to lay bare the structure of such conflicts. Finally, the fact must be underscored that conscious or unconscious aggressive or antisocial trends among the parents of some delinquents may well tend to produce delinquency in those children who identify with them in the broadest sense. Such factors are probably present, but the quantitative data presented in the author's tables do indicate that deviation from the child's own conception of what his parents stand for is one of the contributing factors in the lives of many individual delinquents."

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